The People's Korea

No. 1,096 EVERY SATURDAY JUNE 12, 1982 Per Copy Price:¥250 (US$1.00) (1961年8月22日第3種郵便物認可)

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Two American Computer Co. Executives Held Hostage by S. Korean Workers

Presidential View on Capitalism-Socialism Transition & State Functions

Fifteen years ago, President Kim Il Sung put an end to the nation's controversy among scholars and theoretician over the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat by defining correct answers.

In his speech made before ideological workers of the Workers' Party of Korea on May 25, 1967, he said, "Like all other scientific and theoretical problems, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, must be solved from our Party's Juche viewpoint."

He added, "You can only arrive at a correct conclusion if you use your own faculties to solve the problem, free from flunkeyism and dogmatism," (See Full Text on Pages 2 and 3)

Until then, some people had thought the transition period covers a process from capitalism to the higher phase of communism while others had argued it stops with the victory of socialism.

"I deem it right to draw the demarcation line for the transition period," he concluded, "as the border of the classless society. . . "

As regards the dictatorship of the proletariat, the President said that it must be continued into the higher phase of communism.

He supported his view by saying: "Even if communism materialized in one country or certain areas, that society would not be free from the menace of imperialism and the resitance of internal enemies who conspire with external enemies, because the world revolution has not yet been accomplished and capitalism and imperialism remain in existence.

"Under such circumstances, the state cannot wither away and the dictatorship of the proletariat must therefore remain in existence in the higher phase of communism."

Kim Yong Sam under House Arrest

About two dozen plainclothesmen have been posted outside the residence in Seoul of Kim Yong Sam, former leader of the banned New Democratic Party since June 1, placing him under a virtual house arrest, his entourage said June 3.

Kim 55, is now forbidden from leaving his house, and is not allowed to receive visitors.

The former opposition leader was kept under house arrest for more than a year after Chon seized power in May, 1980. His house arrest was lifted since November, 1981.

Reliable sources said that the Chon junta appeared to have carried out the move, picked by interviews Kim gave to the New York Times recently, in which he strongly attacked the military junta led by Gen. Chon.

In his interview with New York Time's Henry Scott Stokes, Kim said Chon could not last longer than this coming autumn because of the vast financial scandal that erupted recently involving Chon's family.

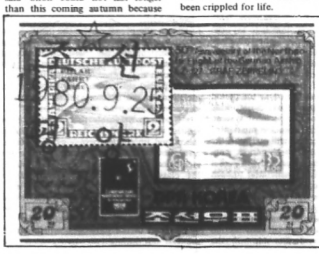
"What we need is democracy, the restoration of democratic institutions," Kim declared.

He also gave the following steps that would be required in a transition to democratic rule:

– The release of some 2,000 political prisoners, workers and students held in south Korean jails, and the restoration of civil rights to more than 560 politicians,

– An official investigation into an uprising at Kwangju in May 1980 that immediately followed Chon's seizure of power as head of army intelligence.

– Restoration of freedom of the press, elimination of torture by the police and army secret police, and medical treatment of victims of torture with full consideration for the scores who are said to have been crippled for life.



Letter to U.N. Secretary-General

Chairman Han Duk Su of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryun) in the joint name of various organizations, including the Korean A-Bomb Victims Liaison Council and the Korean Peace Committee in this country, sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in connection with Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament.

Originally, the letter was to be handed over to the U.N. Secretary-General by Korean delegates to the second session on disarmament who were invited by the NGO Committee on Disarmament. But the State Department refused to issue their visas on the ground it was not possible to waive the relevant legal provisions.

Here is the text of the letter.

Your Honorable
Secretary-General
Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar
United Nations Headquarters
777 United Nations Plaza,
New York, NY 10017

June 3, 1982

Mr. Secretary-General:

It is our great pleasure to address this letter to you in connection with the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament and express heartfelt respect to your devoted commitment to world peace and security.

Together with the peace-loving people of the world, the 700,000 Korean nationals resident in Japan are following the UN Special Session with great interest.

As you know, the nuclear arms expansion race is intensifying as never before on a global scale, increasing the threat of nuclear holocaust.

Against this background there is growing a worldwide campaign for the survival of mankind in demand of the total abolition of nuclear weapons.

This anti-nuclear movement is entirely justifiable as it reflects the common and urgent aspirations of the human race.

The people of Korea have consistently opposed the production, testing, storage, use and deployment to others' territory of nuclear weapons. Their unchanged demand is for the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and for universal and general disarmament. The Korean people have called for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northeast Asia and those in other parts of the globe and urged the disbandment of all military blocs and withdrawal of foreign troops.

Notwithstanding this, in south Korea today there are deployed at least 661 nuclear warheads and large-scale south Korea-U.S. military games are conducted every year, including "Team Spirit" series.

In a disquieting move, the American military authorities have not ruled out the use of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula in case of an emergency.

Given these facts, it is obvious that Korea is faced with a constant danger of nuclear war breaking out at any moment.

It should be recalled that south Korea is under Gen. Chon Du Hwan, an unprecedented bellicose element as the military integration of Washington, Tokyo and Seoul is being strengthened. This shows that the situation on the Korean Peninsula is in an extremely dangerouns phase.

As a matter of common knowledge, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has no single nuclear weapon of whatsoever nature. It has openly committed itself not to acquire it.

Therefore, there is no factual basis for the so-called balance of force or the nuclear deterrent as far as the Korean Peninsula is concerned.

It is clear as day that in the event of nuclear shootout in Korea the whole of its population and many Asian people will suffer most as immediate victims. Any nuclear war in Korea is certain to expand into a global holocaust.

We had over 50,000 fellow countrymen killed in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki when the two cities were A-bombed.

We are resolved not to let this disaster happen again.

On behalf of the entire 700,000 Korean residents in Japan, we express our sincere hope that you will seek for all possible steps to enable the UN Special Session to take into full account our unanimous demand for the withdrawal of American forces and nuclear weapons from south Korea, for the establishment of a Northeast Asian nuclear-free zone, including the Korean Peninsula and for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

We wholeheartedly pray for fresh exploits in your lofty mission.

Sincerely yours

Among growing anti-American sentiments two executives of a leading U.S. computer firm were held in hostage on June 3 by 100 south Korean female workers.

Tokyo's English-language paper Asahi Evening News dated June 7 reprinted New York Time's report that two American executives were held hostage for nine hours on June 3 night by about 100 angry Korean women workers at a United States-owned computer parts plant in Seoul. The incident represented the second most serious anti-American labor violence since Chun Doo Hwan took power in 1980.

The first incident occurred on Jan. 30, 1981 in Seoul. It involved 21 militant Peace Market textile workers who stormed the office of the AFL-CIO-operated Asian American Free Labor Institute and took its representative George Curtin hostage for five hours.

The New York Times said the executives, Roger Wheeler and Edward Fargan, vice presidents of Control Data Corp., a leading U.S. computer firm, were freed at about 2:30 a.m. June 4 after the *U.S. Embassy in Seoul alerted the* south Korean Foreign Ministry and the police, an embassy spokesman said.

Police rushed to Control Data Korea, a Seoul subsidiary of the American firm with a plant employing about 300 people. After releasing the two Americans, the police took 55 workers into custody, almost all young women, labor organizers said.

The two executives were visiting south Korea from their company's Minneapolis headquarters for talks with workers over a claim by the subsidiary's company union that six of its leaders were illegally fired on March 13 during collective bargaining on wages.

Police and intelligence agents questioned seven leaders of the union over the weekend, after releasing 48 workers, about the incident, which appeared to be a grave embarrassment to the Chun regime. There have been several anti-American incidents in Korea recently, including arson at the U.S. Cultural Center in Pusan last month.

A trial of about 20 arson suspects, including a Catholic priest charged with complicity under Korea's harsh National Security Law designed to deal with espionage, starts at Pusan June 14 and is expected to stir nationwide unrest among students.

Meanwhile, the state-supervised Korean press so far has not reported the clash at the plant in Seoul. A Government spokesman declined comment, saying that he knew nothing about the affair.

The release of the two American executives was arranged after consultations between Control Data headquarters, the State Department in Washington and the U.S. Embassy in Seoul, which finally decided to bring the unware Korean authorities into the picture after the hostage-taking incident dragged on into the Friday night, June 4.

On the Question of the Period of Transition From Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Speech Made by President Kim Il Sung before Ideological Workers of the Workers' Party of Korea May 25, 1967

Rodong Sinmun (organ of the WPK Central Committee) May 26 carried the work of President Kim Il Sung "On the Question of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

In this connection the editorial board of Rodong Sinmun said:

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung on May 25, 1967, made the historic speech "On the Question of the Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" to ideological workers of the Party.

This historic work that newly deepened and developed the communist revolutionary theory on the basis of the immortal Juche idea indicated to our people the most correct road of successfully carrying out the building of socialism and communism by giving perfect answer to questions on the period of transition and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Follows the full text of the work:

Recently, while studying documents of the Party conference some scholars and others responsible for ideological work have put forward diverse opinions on the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Particularly, following the publication of an essay on these questions, opinion was all the more divided. So, I studied the data on the subject, exchanged views with scholars, and gave a short summary. But those who heard my views interpreted and conveyed them to others in their own way, with the result that they were distorted in many points. Since the subject under discussion relates to the documents of the Party conference, it is a very important matter and can in no way be neglected. I will therefore discuss it in some detail.

Like all other scientific and theoretical problems, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat, too, must be solved from our Party's Juche viewpoint. You should neither cling to propositions of the classics and try to settle the questions dogmatically nor be enthralled by the ideas of flunkeyism and try to interpret the issues as others do. Judging from the written opinions of several scholars and from other essays, almost all comrades either interpret the propositions dogmatically or tend to flunkeyism and attempt to follow the thinking of other countries. Consequently, they advance the questions in a direction which is entirely different from that of our Party. You can never study and solve problems correctly in such a way. You can only arrive at a correct conclusion if you use your own faculties to solve the problems, free from flunkeyism and dogmatism.

Let us deal first with the problem of the transition period.

To explain the issue correctly, it is necessary first of all to consider in what historical circumstances and on what premises the classics, particularly Marx, advanced this question.

Firstly, as we see it, Marx obviously had in mind the developed capitalist countries when he laid down his definition on socialism and formulated the question of the period of transition from capitalism to communism or to socialism. I think we must be fully aware of this fact at the outset if we want to find a correct solution to this question.

What, then, are the developed capitalist countries we have referred to? They consist of those countries where both rural and urban areas have become completely capitalistic and the capitalist relations predominate in the whole society, with the result that peasants no longer exist but there are agricultural labourers, side by side with the industrial labourers. Marx had this kind of developed capitalist country in mind when he put forward his theory, and England, which he had visited and where he had lived and worked, was precisely such a country. In formulating the question of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, therefore, Marx assumed first of all a condition in which there existed no class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, and he proceeded from it.

Now, to cite the instance of the most developed capitalist countries of modern times, their productive forces have become so highly developed as to make even the countryside fully capitalistic and, as a result, the working class is the only labouring class both in town and country. In a certain capitalist country there are tens of thousands of farms, all of which are very highly mechanized. Not only that, the electrification, chemicalization and irrigation of the countryside, too, is on a very high level. Thus, it is said, one agricultural labourer can take care of thirty *chongbo* of land in that country. What does this mean? It means not only that there exists actually no class distinction between the working class and the peasantry but also that the agricultural and industrial productive forces are almost on the same level. The only difference, if any, lies in the working conditions of the industrial labourer in the factory and the agricultural labourer on the farm.

That is why Marx thought that the stage of transition to socialism following the seizure of power by the proletariat in those developed capitalist countries would cover a comparatively short period. In other words, Marx held that because there exist only two classes in society, the capitalists and the workers, the tasks of the transition period could be carried out in a relatively brief period of time and it would be possible to speedily realize the higher phase of communism, once the capitalist class was crushed and expropriated and its property turned over to ownership of the whole people in the course of the socialist revolution. Yet Marx did not say that it would be possible to progress to communism directly from capitalism, without going through the stage of socialism. No matter how highly the productive forces may have developed and how violently the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry may have disappeared, it is essential to solve the tasks of the transition period before advancing farther. These tasks include liquidating the remnant forces of the exploiter classes and eliminating the survivals of the old ideologies in the minds of people. We must first of all take account of this point.

The second point is the Marxist view of the uninterrupted revolution, which we must take into consideration in studying Marx's theory on the transition period and in expounding this question correctly.

As you all know, Marx lived in the era of premonopoly capitalism, so that he could not clearly see the imbalance in the political and economic development of capitalism. Therefore, he believed that the proletarian revolution would break out almost simultaneously in the major capitalist countries of Europe and that the world revolution would triumph relatively soon. Proceeding from such premises, Marx presumed that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism would be a comparatively short historical epoch, and defined that the dictatorship of the proletariat would exist only during the time of the transition period, that is, these two could never be divorced. We must also take account of this point.

Lenin, too, we can say, followed in the main the Marxist standpoint when he raised the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unlike England or Germany where Marx had lived and worked, Lenin's Russia was of course not advanced at all but was a backward though nevertheless capitalist country. Consequently, Lenin considered the stage of socialism, the transitional stage, to be relatively long and not short as Marx had theorized.

But Lenin, too, following the Marxist view, said that a society where the working class had overthrown the capitalist system and seized power but where class distinction still remained between the workers and the peasants, was a transitional society being as yet not communist and neither fully socialist. He further said that in order to implement total socialism, it would not be enough to merely smash the capitalists as a class; the distinction between the workers and the peasants would also have to be eliminated. Thus it was that Lenin finally considered the period up to the materialization of a classless society—where there would be no distinction between the working class and the peasantry following the overthrow of the capitalist class by the working class—to be the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or the period of transition to communism. I think such a definition of the transition period is fundamentally correct.

But the problem is that our comrades interpret the propositions of Marx and Lenin dogmatically, without taking into consideration the times and historical circumstances in which they were formulated and, above all, they think the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat coincide with and are inseparable from each other.

It is true that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism or communism will only end when a classless society with no distinction between the working class and the peasantry is realized following the overthrow of the capitalist class. It can also be taken for granted that should the socialist revolution take place consecutively in all countries and the revolution emerge victorious on a worldwide scale, the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would coincide with each other, and with the termination of the transition period, the dictatorship of the proletariat would also cease to exist and the withering away of the state would follow.

And yet, if socialism has been founded and a classless society materialized in one country or certain areas, the transition period should be regarded as terminated there even though the revolution has not brought victory on the worldwide scale. As long as capitalism remains in the world, however, the dictatorship of the proletariat will not vanish, and we cannot even talk about the withering away of the state. Therefore, in order to find a correct solution to the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should not cling dogmatically to the propositions of Marx or Lenin, but proceed from the practical experiences in socialist construction in our country to consider the questions.

At present, certain people accept the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but do not appreciate, in any sense, the concept of the period of transition from capitalism to communism, that is to say, the period of transition to the higher phase of communism. They use, however, the expression: gradual transition from socialism to communism.

It is the deviation of the right opportunists to regard the transition period as the period from the seizure of power by the working class to the victory of the socialist system, and to suppose that the historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship will end with the termination of the transition period, conforming the transition period and the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat to each other. Therefore, people with such a viewpoint say that following the attainment of the complete and final victory of socialism, which is the first phase of communism, and with the transition to the all-out construction of communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its historical mission and is thus no longer necessary. This is a right opportunist view, which is entirely contradictory to Marxism-Leninism.

What, then, is the "left" opportunist view? Those who have the "left view used to regard the question of the transition period exactly in the same light as those with the right opportunist view, but, proceeding from their standpoint that communism can be realized some generations later, contend that the transition period should be regarded as the period of transition from capitalism to the higher phase of communism. By so doing they apparently mean to criticize right opportunism. It is all very well to criticize the right deviations; yet we cannot consider such views on the question of the transition period to be correct.

As mentioned above, it is clear that these people have all fallen alike into deviations in viewing the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We think the transition period can either be called the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, or the period of transition from capitalism to communism, because socialism is the first phase of communism. But the trouble is that some of our comrades, enthralled with flunkeyism, either regard the transition period as the period from capitalism to the higher phase of communism in the wake of the "left" opportunist view or regard it as the period up to the victory of socialism in the wake of the right opportunist view.

Therefore, the point at issue concerning the transition period is not a terminological matter of whether it is the transition to socialism or to communism, but rather the question of where to draw the demarcation line of the transition period. Many people, having made a bungle of determining this demarcation line, are presently confused and have given rise to various problems. Both of the demarcation lines, drawn by those with either the right or the "left" view, are problematical.

By the higher phase of communism is meant not only a classless society where there is not distinction between the workers and the peasants, but also a highly advanced society where there is no distinction between mental and physical labour and each member of society works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. So, it is, in fact, tantamount to drawing no demarcation line at all to regard the transition period as the period up to such a higher phase of communism. Some people not only regard the transition period as a period right up to the higher phase of communism, but also say that it is impossible to build up communism in a single country. They say, we will enter communism only when the world revolution is consummated. According to this view, the transition period cannot end before the world revolution is completed. These people interpret the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as corresponding to each other, regarding the former as the period up to the higher phase of communism, while people from the rightist standpoint consider the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as coinciding with each other, regarding the former as the period up to the point of victory of socialism. In our opinion, this is an extreme viewpoint.

It is also questionable that people holding rightist view regard the transition period as the period up to the victory of the socialist revolution. This viewpoint stems from the ideological view of abandoning domestically the class struggle against survivors of the overthrown exploiter classes, and internationally refraining from the world revolution, by opting to live at peace with imperialism. Moreover, they claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear

(Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 2)

when the transition period comes to an end. But how can this be? They are fundamentally wrong.

It will not do, therefore, to follow mechanically what is set by those who hold the rightist views, or to take as a model what is set by those holding the "leftist" views.

We must firmly establish Juche and settle problems from the practical experiences we have gained in the revolution and construction of our country.

As already mentioned, the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat as defined by the classics were perfectly correct under the historical circumstances of their times and the premises they had developed from.

Our present reality, however, demands that we develop them creatively and not simply apply them without full consideration. We carried out the socialist revolution under the conditions where we had taken over the very backward productive forces of a colonial agrarian country, and are building socialism under circumstances where capitalism still exists as a considerable force in the world.

We must take into account these specific realities in order to give correct solutions to the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Bearing this point in mind, I consider it to be incorrect to regard the transition period in our country as the period up to the higher phase of communism, and deem it right to regard it rather as the period up to socialism. But it is wrong to believe that the transition period will come to a close as soon as the socialist revolution has triumphed and the socialist system is established. Considering the issue either on the basis of what the founders of Marxism-Leninism said or in the light of the experiences we have gained in our actual struggles, we cannot say that a complete socialist society is already built just because the capitalist class has been overthrown and socialist revolution carried through after the working class seized power. We, therefore, have never said that the establishment of the socialist system means the complete victory of socialism.

When will the complete socialist society ever come into being? Complete victory of socialism will come only when the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry has disappeared and the middle classes, particularly the peasant masses, actively support us. As long as the peasants are not working-classized, the support they may give us cannot be firm and is bound to be rather unstable.

The seizure of power by the working class is but the beginning of socialist revolution. To build a complete socialist society the revolution must be steadily advanced and a firm material basis of socialism built. I have already emphasized this time and again in my reports and speeches. Nevertheless, some of our comrades, because of their flunkeyist mentality, have not properly studied the documents of our Party but have shown much interest in what others had said. They are very wrong.

We must base ourselves on today's realities and take a correct perspective of all the questions that arise. Since our country did not go through a capitalist revolution, its productive forces are very backward, and the distinction between the working class and the peasantry will have to remain for a very long time even after the socialist revolution. In fact, there are only a few highly developed capitalist countries in the world today. Most countries are backward, and were formerly colonies or semi-colonies like our country, or are still dependent on others. In such countries the construction of a classless society and the consolidation of socialism are possible only by developing the productive forces for a comparatively longer period even after the socialist revolution.

As we did not go through the normal course of capitalist development, we have the task of developing the productive forces in our socialist era—a task which we should have tackled under capitalism. There is no need to make society capitalistic and go to the trouble of fostering the capitalists just to smash them and then build socialism, on the basis that we could not discharge the task which we should have completed in the capitalist stage. The working class in power should not revive capitalist society, but should carry out this task under the socialist system which it could not tackle in the stage of capitalist revolution, in order to build a classless society.

We must keep consolidating the material basis of socialism and boost the productive forces at least to the level of developed capitalist countries, and completely get rid of the distinction between the working class and the peasantry. To this end, the technical revolution should be carried out to the extent that the developed capitalist countries have turned their countryside capitalistic, so that farming may be mechanized, chemicalization and irrigation be introduced, and the eight-hour day adopted.

It was precisely for this purpose that we published the theses on the socialist rural question. Why, our comrades do not properly study even the theses, trying to solve problems with our own brains, drawing on our Party documents. What is the central idea of the Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country? The basic idea of the theses is to carry out the technical revolution in the rural areas and develop the agricultural productive forces to a high level. At the same time, it seeks to promote the ideological and the cultural revolution and gradually abolish the distinction between the working class and the peasantry in the spheres of technology, ideology and culture, and bring cooperative property up to level of property of all the people.

And these tasks cannot be realized unless the working class gives guidance and assistance to the peasantry. It is our Party's line to give material and technical assistance to the peasantry and carry out the technical revolution in the rural areas by relying on the solid basis of industry. To this end, large numbers of tractors should be supplied to the countryside, fertilizers and agricultural chemicals should be produced in the bumper for chemicalization, and irrigation should also be carried out. Along with this, the working class must help the peasantry in their ideological remoulding and exert also a cultural influence on them. Only in this way can the peasantry be completely working-classized.

It is in fact one of the most important questions in building socialism and communism to turn the peasantry into the working class. In this way we will working-classize the peasants and abolish the distinction between the working class and the peasantry.

We should not take to flunkeyism but should hold fast to our Party's stand of Juche in carrying the revolution and working classizing the peasantry. We must develop the productive forces to a higher plane, get rid of the disparity between town and country and raise the people's living standards by putting into effect the spirit of the theses and laying a firm material basis of socialism.

Only by so doing can we completely win over the former middle classes. We cannot say socialism has been consolidated and consider it has won complete victory before the middle classes stop wavering and fully support us. Only when they actively support us, can we say socialism has been completely realized. When we advance socialist construction and thoroughly win over the middle classes to our side, when we eliminate the distinction between the working class and the peasantry and build a classless society, we shall be able to say that the task of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism have been accomplished.

I deem it right to draw the demarcation line for the transition period at the border of classless society, unlike those who are biased to the right or to the "left."

What, then, shall we say is the society that will exist, after the triumph of the socialist revolution and the accomplishment of socialist transformation, until the disappearance of the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry? It can be called nothing other than a socialist society, since it is a society free from exploitation even though it undoubtedly belongs to the transition period.

Needless to say, the end of the transition period will not immediately be followed by the higher phase of communism. Even after the close of the transition period, socialist revolution and construction must be continued and the productive forces developed to such a level that each individual works according to his ability and each receives according to his needs, in order to enter the higher phase of communism.

In my opinion, this approach to the question of transition period accords with the definitions laid down by Marx and Lenin, and it presents the basis for creating conditions as well as the practical experiences of the revolution and construction in our country. This is a preliminary and not final conclusion reached by us. It is desirable that you make further studies in this direction.

Having given such a definition of the period of transition, how should we view the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The classics, as already mentioned, understood that the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would coincide with each other. Then, if a classless society materializes and the complete victory of socialism is achieved in our country, i.e., if the tasks of the transition period are accomplished, will the dictatorship of the proletariat become no longer necessary? The answer to this is no. Even when the transition period is over, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be continued up to the higher phase of communism, to say nothing of its necessity during the entire period of transition.

Even after we have carried out the technical revolution in the rural areas, elevated cooperative property to the level of property of the whole people, working-classized the peasantry and done away with the distinction between the working class and the peasantry by solidifying the material and technical basis of socialism and carrying into effect the theses on the socialist rural question, the level of our productive forces will not yet be high enough to apply the principle of communism that each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. Therefore, it will be necessary to continue to build socialism and strive to realize communism. It is quite clear that these tasks cannot be fulfilled without the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, even when the transition period is over, the dictatorship of the proletariat should still exist until the higher phase of communism is attained.

But here is another question. What will become of the proletarian dictatorship once communism is realized in one country or certain areas while capitalism still exists in parts of the world? Even if communism materializes in one or certain areas, that society would not be free from the menace of imperialism and the resistance of internal enemies who conspire with external enemies, because the world revolution has not yet been completed and capitalism and imperialism remain in existence. Under such circumstances, the State cannot wither away and the dictatorship of the proletariat must therefore remain in existence in the higher phase of communism.

Should the revolution successively sweep all countries eliminating capitalism and allowing the socialist revolution to emerge victorious on a global scale, the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat would correspond to each other. With the end of the one, the other would no longer be necessary and the functions of the state would wither away. But inasmuch as we accept the theory that it is possible to build communism in a particular country or certain areas, it is entirely correct to view the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat separately in this light.

It is no revision on our part of Marxism-Leninism to consider the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat in this manner. It is our standpoint to creatively apply the propositions of Marx and Lenin to the new historical circumstances and the specified practices of our country. I think this is the way of safeguarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism against dogmatism and flunkeyism.

I am now going to say a few words about the question of class struggle in connection with the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as the dictatorship exists, there will exist the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this dictatorship is essential to class struggle. The class struggle has, however, various forms. At the stage of overthrowing capitalism this struggle differs from that after its overthrow. This has already been expressly detained in the documents of our Party. Many people, however, commit right or "left" errors, simply because they have not a clear idea.

The class struggle at the stage of the socialist revolution is a struggle to liquidate the capitalists as a class, and the class struggle in socialist society is a struggle aimed at achieving unity and cohesion firmly by no means a class struggle waged between the members of that society at feud. In socialist society the class struggle certainly exists, but its existence is by way of cooperation for the purpose of unity and solidarity. In short, it goes without saying that our present ideological revolution is a class struggle; and it is also a form of class struggle to compel assistance to the countryside to working-classize the peasantry. Because the state of the working class aims, after all, at eliminating the peasants as a class and completing their working-classization through the supply of machines and chemical fertilizers and through providing them with irrigation works. Our class struggle is designed not only to working-classize the peasantry and terminate its existence as a class, but also to revolutionize previous middle classes including the intelligentsia and urban petty bourgeoisie and remould them on the pattern of the working class. This is the principal form of the class struggle we are now waging.

Also, within our social system subversive counterrevolutionary influences infiltrate from without and the survivors of the overthrown exploiter classes agitate within, so, the class struggle is necessary to suppress these counterrevolutionary activities.

In this way, there is in socialist society a form of class struggle exercising dictatorship over both external and internal enemies, along with the basic form of class struggle which aims through cooperation to revolutionize and remould the workers, peasants and working intellectuals to achieve unity and solidarity.

In socialist society, therefore, the class struggle does not disappear but continues in different forms. It is perfectly correct to consider the question of the class struggle in socialist society in this way.

In connection with this question, I should like to direct a few more words to the issue of revolutionizing the intellectuals. We cannot as yet say that we have fully worked out the correct approach to this question. We once sent our intellectuals into factories to labour among the workers with a view to revolutionizing them. But it is doubtful if that is really a good way. We have cultivated the intellectuals because we want them to write, study science and technology or serve as teachers. If they were intended to labour in the factories, we should obviously have made them workers from the outset, instead of providing them with expensive training. So, this way, too, is not quite appropriate.

Of course, it is a good thing to bring the intellectuals close to the workers and learn from them their organization and fortitude as well as their devotion to the people they serve with their physical labour. But this is still far from being an adequate answer to the question of revolutionizing the intellectuals. Many of our writers have been to the factories, and yet some of them made little progress in spite of all their work there. So, we cannot revolutionize the intellectuals merely by sending them to the factories to work.

What is important here is to make them strengthen their organizational life, including their participation in party activities. At present, some of our intellectuals do not like the strengthening of party and other organizational activities and do not conscientiously take part in organizational life. They think that by strengthening their party life and by taking part in organizational life they are losing their freedom.

Those cadres who neglect both their party activities and party study, also go against the Party's policies. Even the Central Party School does not strengthen the party life of its students, so that, after graduation, they cannot make the most of what they have learned and fail to work and live in a revolutionary way.

It is therefore of paramount importance in revolutionizing the intellectuals to make them take an active part in the revolutionary organizational life. Above all, it is essential for them to strengthen the party-cell life, refrain from displaying their knowledge and conduct the Party study well to arm themselves with revolutionary ideas. Further, they should neither be afraid of being criticized nor be unwilling to criticize others; they should intensify criticism and self-criticism and strictly observe organizational discipline. This alone will help them revolutionize themselves. People should cultivate collectivist ideas in the course of their organizational life in the party or any social organizations, and acquire the revolutionary spirit of receiving definite revolutionary assignments from their organizations and carrying them out without fail. The members of the Party and social organizations should positively equip themselves with the Party's policies and propagandize them, and should become the kind of revolutionaries that carry out their revolutionary tasks to the letter and in accordance with the Party's policies. A revolutionary is a genuine communist. The communist has nothing to do with selfishness, which means seeking one's own interests alone. Revolutionaries must have the communist traits of working and living under the motto: "one for all and all for one". They must temper themselves with the Party, class and popular spirit of serving the working class and the entire people.

The intellectuals will become spoilt in the end, if they do not take an active part in all organizational life including that of the party. There are many such instances. I should like to emphasize once again that both the old and new intellectuals should strengthen their activities in the party and other institutions, to do away with their liberalistic and petty-bourgeois mentalities and train themselves into revolutionaries.

Today I have dwelt on the questions of the transition period and the dictatorship of the proletariat in considerable detail. I think this should be enough, to give you a general idea of the questions raised in the course of studying the documents of the Party conference.

Building of Socialist Economy and Its Development (10)

III. Socialist Transformation of Economy

(Continued from the No. 1,094 issue of The People's Korea)

Policy of Socialist Transformation of Private Commerce and Industries

Means employed for the socialist transformation of private commerce and industries and its speed differed from country to country because of different domestic and international conditions and also because of different historical conditions. The way the DPRK followed first was cooperativization.

Generally, socialization of small-commodity producers takes the form of cooperativization. Cooperativization is easily accepted by small-commodity producers, so that it is an effective way to closely link state profits with the private profits of small-commodity producers. Since small-commodity commerce is small in scale and is backward technically, it could develop only when it is cooperativized in a socialist way.

Transformation of capitalist commerce and industries, generally requires elimination of the bourgeoisie, by means of expropriation. However, the DPRK did not followed this general course but the course of cooperativization. What made it possible to do so was the fact that since national capitalists (capitalist commerce and industries) had been suppressed by the imperialists, and traitorous capitalists before the liberation, certain foundations for socialist transformation were found among them, even though they were restricted. National capitalists belonged to the oppression class, but since they did not oppose the socialist revolution, it was possible to socialize them through cooperativization.

Another factor for cooperativization was that capitalist commerce and industries were in a way similar to private handicraft industries. They were small in scale and their economic foundations were weak. During the Korean War, even these weak foundations were destroyed, and they were forced to be smaller in scale. For instance, in capitalist enterprises—mainly rice cleaning, smithery and paper making—the average per-enterprise hired labor was 1.4 workers as of May 1957 and those which hired more than 5 workers, accounted for only 14 percent of the total. In private commerce, retail dealers and those with their own shops were small in number. Most of them were peddlers who sold food, utensils and other miscellaneous goods. So, they could not afford to hire labor. They had to do business with their family members. In May 1957 privately-owned stores and restaurants numbered 6,584, but the number of hired workers in them were only 342. Most of them worked at restaurants.

Moreover, from the beginning of the transition period, the state-run economy held a dominant position in the national economy. This fact greatly supported the cooperativization of private commerce and industries, since the state-run sectors played a leading role in their socialist transformation and provided a material guarantee for it.

Secondly, the principle of voluntariness was emphasized. Socialist transformation was carried out in the form of cooperativization, not by expropriation. So, only when capitalist merchants and industrialists voluntarily participated in the transformation, cooperativization could be accelerated.

In order to thoroughly observe the principle of voluntariness, forms of cooperative societies had to be clearly defined. As private commerce and industries included handicraft industries, small-scale commerce and capitalist business, their economic foundations and the levels of their ideology and consciousness differed from each other. This required that cooperative societies should be organized in diverse forms.

The production cooperative societies which had been formed by 1956, can be classified into two forms. One was the form in which incomes were distributed according to investments, and the other was a higher-level form in which incomes were not distributed according to investments made. Among the high-level cooperative societies, some introduced a joint ownership system but others did not.

When socialist transformation came to be carried out on a full scale, the WPK adopted a decision "About strengthening production cooperative societies economically and organizationally and about strengthening ideological activities among society members", which clarified the three forms of societies should be organized.

The first form was that of joint production groups for ultra-small handicraft enterprises. In this form, private ownership of the means of production and private management were allowed. Incomes were distributed according to the amounts they owned, after deducting a small amount of money for common reserve funds. This was the lowest-level society form which did not exist at all when the socialist transformation neared its completion.

The other form included not only private handicraft enterprises but also capitalist commerce and industries. In this form, the means of production and investments were integrated by societies and the system of joint ownership was applied. Incomes were basically distributed according to labor, but dividends for investments were also paid.

The third form was the highest form in which all the means of production and investments were owned in common by societies and incomes were distributed only according to labor. For the means of production and investments the members had contributed to societies, they were paid by societies out of their accumulated funds.

Among merchants were also formed cooperative groups, sales cooperative societies and production and sale cooperative societies, all of them were the first-level integrated units. Production and sales cooperative societies which managed industrial production and commerce aimed at developing themselves into production cooperative societies, by giving opportunities to merchants to get used to labor, and by raising the rate of production in the activities of cooperative societies. They were all formed as transitional organizations.

The socialist transformation was carried out in two stages—the stage of transition and the stage of full-scale development.

The Government's leadership and support were strengthened—ideological education was strengthened and competent people were posted as managers, while supply of materials was increased.

Thirdly, the DPRK put forward the policy of carrying out the socialist transformation of privately owned commerce and industries, together with agricultural cooperativization.

Private commerce and industries and agriculture were dependent on each other. Peasants provided raw materials and agricultural products to commerce and industries, and for merchants and industrialists, agriculture was the basic market for their goods and was the object of their intermediate exploitation. In spite of certain limitations, they contributed toward developing agriculture. This was what the Government considered when it put forward the third policy.

A bamboo-ware peddler in the pre-liberation period

Development of Transformation Movement

(1) EXPERIMENTAL STAGE

Transformation of private commerce and industries started in September 1947 when production cooperative societies were organized, with private handicraft industries as their nucleus. Then, preconditions for all-out development of the transformation had been prepared in the peaceful construction period (1946–1950) and during the Korean War (1950–1953).

Economic Form-Wise Shares in Gross Industrial Output

	Socialist Form (%)	Small-Commodity Form (%)	Capitalist Form (%)
1946	72.4	4.4	23.2
1949	90.7	1.5	7.8
1953	96.1	1.0	2.9
1956	98.0	0.7	1.3
1957	98.7	0.5	0.8
1958	100	0	0

Source: Chi Un Sop, Socialist Transformation of Private Commerce and Industries in Our Country, WPK Press, Pyongyang

First of all, socialist transformation of private handicraft industries started in rural areas during the peaceful construction period. The reason for priority given to socialist transformation in the rural areas was that people there had already experienced cooperativization, through organization of consumers' cooperative societies (from May 1946, consumers' cooperative societies were formed in the rural areas) and that compared with cities, favorable conditions were found in raw material problems and class relations. The cooperativization movement expanded to cities as they were carried out, with stress on developing side-businesses of rural specialities, under the leadership of consumers' cooperative societies.

Production cooperative societies which came to be organized in 1947, increased from 28 to 567 in 1949 and their total membership increased 77 times. The average per-society membership rose from 10 in 1947 to 40 in 1949. Together with production cooperative societies, fishery cooperative societies also rose 49 percent by the end of June 1950 against April 1948, while their membership jumped 45 percent. By the end of 1949, 22.5 percent of the total private merchants and industrialists became workers (among them, 11.5 percent were workers, office workers and others). Industrial output by cooperative societies accounted for 5.2 percent of the total industrial output in 1949.

In March 1950 the managing system of cooperative societies was established by the Party. During the three-year cooperativization movement, cooperative societies not only expanded their scale but also enlarged their spheres of activities, obtained experiences, trained cadres and established material and financial bases (by increasing common reserve funds) and raised the members' living standards. These successes provided organizational and economic foundations for full-scale development of socialist transformation of private commerce and industries.

The transformation was carried out even during the Korean War. During that period, already organized production societies were further strengthened while private handicraft industries which were severely damaged by the war, joined the societies. In the situation where industries were destroyed and people's living standard was lowered again, all possibilities had to be explored to increase consumer goods production. Furthermore, as private commerce and industries were dealt a heavy blow by the war, it was difficult for them to continue their operations on a private enterprise basis.

The main objects of socialist transformation during the war were jobless people, office workers and merchants and industrialists. Also included were disabled soldiers who returned to their homes. Cooperative societies organized for these people played an important role in the entire system of production cooperative societies till the post-war period when industries were nationalized. Some capitalist merchants and industrialists were allowed to be included in production cooperative societies. However, their number was held down to be less 5 percent of the total society membership, since these societies were not yet strong enough organizationally and economically.

Cooperative societies increased from 567 in 1949 to 579 in 1952 with the total membership growing 0.08 percent. At the end of 1953, 16.7 percent of the total private merchants and industrialists belonged to production cooperative societies or fishery cooperative societies. Among them 17 percent became workers, office workers and other socialist workers. Industrial output by these societies which accounted for 5.2 percent in 1949 increased to 11.4 percent in 1951 and 12 percent in 1952 of the total industrial outputs.

However, most of these production societies followed the system of distributing incomes according to labor and investments. The forms of societies did not change basically. The change was their expanded production scale and heightened consciousness of society members. Transformation of private commerce and industries was still in its experimental stage.

Before the war socialist transformation of capitalist commerce was not on the order of the day because almost all peasants who were dominant in the countryside were engaged in private agriculture. Since the capitalist relations of production were based on small-commodity production, capitalist elements could not be eliminated overnight, as long as small commodity production existed. If capitalist elements were restricted too much when conditions were not fully prepared for socialist transformation of private agriculture and small commodity production, peasants interests would be damaged and the worker-peasant alliance would be undermined.

Until a certain period conditions for socialist transformation should be prepared by using capitalist commerce and industries by restricting their negative aspects.

At that time, workers hired by capitalist merchants and industrialists were protected by the Government, and their exploitation was restricted by several means, including the tax-in-kind system, the price control system and the purchase control system. In addition, the enterprise permission system made enterprises and merchants do their business according to the Government's demand. Finally, preconditions for full-scale socialist transformation were prepared. **(To be continued)**

Overseas Delegates to Tokyo Anti-Nuke Int'l Conf. Endorse Nuclear-Free Asia, Demand GI Pullout from S. Korea

Staff reporters of The People's Korea talked with overseas delegates to the May 14–15 International Conference against Nuclear Weapons, for Disarmament and for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones held in Japan's capital.

In the interviews the foreign delegates including the former Chairman of the British Labour Party expressed grave concern over the existence of around 1,000 nuclear warheads in south Korea. They highly praised the efforts of the Asian and Pacific peoples to declare their countries non-nuclear peace zones. The delegates also discussed the south Korean democratic movement and the future prospect of the divided country.

Follow gists of questions and answers : Mr. Alex Kitson, former Chairman of the British Labour Party; Mr. Sture Ericson, Member of Parliament of the Swedish Social Democratic Party; Mr. Peter Beattie, Queensland State Secretary of the Australian Labour Party; Mr. Andreas Christodoulidis, Member of the Executive Bureau of the CC of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement; Mr. Luis Solana, Member of Defence Committee in Parliament of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party; and Mrs. Bernie Tostwe Keldermans, a teacher of Belau.

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Mr. Alex Kitson, former Chairman of the British Labour Party

Q: Korea, Sweden and other countries proposed nuclear-free zones in their respective areas. A number of British cities, including London declared themselves nuclear-free zones. What is the policy of you'r party on this issue?

A: We think nuclear-free zones can be developed on a unilateral basis and gradually expanded into multilateral zones. Of course, there are superpowers. We think this process should involve superpowers.

Q: What is your view on Reagan policy on localized nuclear war?

A: Reagan policy for the moment contains nuclear short strikes which means we may have nuclear war in Europe but nowhere in the United States. So he is deploying missiles in Great Britain, Germany and Turkey.

Q: What is your comment on the specific proposal to build a nuclear-free zone in the Asian and Pacific region:

A: I think it will be a good start. It should be extended as wide as possible in this region.

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Mr. Sture Ericson, Member of Parliament of the Swedish Social Democratic Party

Q: How do you evaluate the moves of the Asian peoples to turn their countries into a non-nuclear peace zone?

A: It is one of few measures that the non-nuclear states can take in order to promote nuclear disarmament. After all, real nuclear disarmament can only be achieved by agreements between the nuclear powers. The non-nuclear states, by forming such zones, will be able to put pressure on the nuclear powers to work in this direction. I think it would be a tremendous step in the direction of reducing the danger of nuclear war if we could form nuclear weapon-free zones in various parts of the world. It would make the nuclear powers defensive.

Q: What do you think of the existence of nuclear weapons now stockpiled in south Korea?

A: Well, rather recent history shows that conflicts on the Korean Peninsula can start a nuclear war. Of course, conventional weapons will be first used but with nuclear weapons neaby, there is of course a great danger that Korea will then be a second country in the world to be hit by nuclear weapons.

If you look at the world map, you can see that the borders of Europe are very stable. There are various measures taken politically and militarily in order to keep the situation very stable while the borders in Korea are not that stable. I think it is correct to say that Korea is one of the real dangerous spots on the world map now. Having nuclear weapons in the middle of that, is of course, a very dangerous thing.

Q: May I have your observation about the present state of the democratic struggle in south Korea?

A: We are of course very critical of the American policy of trying to strengthen what they call the free world by supporting military dictatorship. They do so not only in Korea but also in many parts of Latin America. You find the Americans backing the military dictators. They do it in the name of democracy. This is one of the factor in world politics that in fact weaken democracy. In recent years, I also think that in the newspapers in our country have brought more hard facts about the situation in Korea than in the past.

Q: What do you think of anti-Aemricanism among the south Korean people which was clearly indicated in the burnings of the American national flag and a diplomatic facility?

A: I am just surprised that if the first primary goal of their policy is apparently to counter the Communists in the north, the Americans do it by supporting the military dictatorship. If they had any sort of success in the long term they should try to support the democratic forces of Korea. I think it is the policy of that is eroding their own foundation. You can not build a long-term military dictator by so doing.

Q: What is your own view on the future prospect of reunifying the divided Korea?

A: It has to be a peaceful process. You can't reunify Korea by force of arms. I suppose that in many years the two Koreas have created very different social systems. You have to look into this process into a long time. I think the first precondition for any success of such a process is that you have a popular and democratic regime in the south.

Mr. Peter Beattie, Queensland State Secretary of the Australian Labour Party

Q: Your party reached an agreement with the Japan Socialist Party in 1978 to turn the South Pacific region into a non-nuclear peace zone. Following this move, the Workers' Party of Korea and the JSP agreed to mark out a nuclear-free Northeast Asia. How do you evaluate this kind of movement in the Asian region?

A: Well, I think it is very important we have nuclear-free zones and peace zones. That is one of devices for world peace eventually. It puts pressure on the major powers. More and more nations want to have peace zones in their areas. Australia is friendly to the U.S. and we have particular relationship. We can influence the U.S. now. If we say we will not have American nuclear ships and airports, that will put pressure on the U.S. If Japan says the same thing, that will put pressure on the U.S. Because, really, they are beyond the question of ideology and politics and come to the question of survival of the human race and humankind. The like-minded people throughout the world, wherever in Asia, Europe and elsewhere, have to move in this direction.

Q: May I have your observation of nuclear weapons in south Korea which number 1,000 including short-range and inter-mediate tactical nuclear warheads?

A: I don't know exactly the existence of nuclear weapons in south Korea. But I think what's important is what one of Swedish delegate said yesterday. That is that it doesn't matter whether there are nuclear weapons or not. It's the perception or the belief the nulcear weapons are there in parts of the world that cause conflict and cause tension and cause problems. For example, let's cite the worn-out weapons in south Korea. Nuclear weapons can't be used for solving problems on the Korean Peninsula. They have to be withdrawn from south Korea and other many parts of the world, if possible. I must stress that sort of tension and the possibility of nuclear conflict should be removed. Nuclear weapons do not help the political situation.

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Mr. Andreas Christodoulidis, Member of the Executive Bureau of the CC of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement

Q: What is your comment on the existence of nuclear weapons in south Korea?

A: As I pointed out before, we are against using nuclear weapons not only in our country but everywhere. And especially, we are referring to those areas where there is a tension, those where there is something which will cause conflict, and we know very well that Korea is one of these tension-filled areas. So, we have a lot more reasons to ask for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the American bases in south Korea. The demand of my party, as I have always pointed out, is not only the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from south Korea but the termination of the division of the country and peaceful reunification of Korea. This is something which my party has supported since 1974.

Q: How do you see the future prospect of reunifying the divided Korea through an establishment of a confederal state?

A: The position of my party is to help any work and any efforts which will lead to the peaceful reunification of Korea. On the point which you mentioned, it is something which the Korean people have the first word to say. From our side, we can say that the proposal which President Kim Il Sung made is a very realistic one.

Q: How do you evaluate the agreement reached in March 1981 between the Workers' Party of Korea and the Japan Socialist Party to declare a non-nuclear peaceful Northeast Asia?

A: We support any efforts which will lead to a nuclear weapon-free zone. So, we support the agreement between President Kim Il Sung and Chairman Asukata.

Q: What is your comment on the alleged "threat from the north" advanced by the Americans and the south Koreans?

A: From the viewpoint of our experience in the relationship with the DPRK, we don't have the impression that there is any southward threat. As you know very well, the Americans always use this kind of "threat" to justify their suppression of the south Korean people. From our side we support the struggle of the south Korean people for democracy and human rights.

Q: What do you think of the growing anti-American sentiments among the south Korean people?

A: I can say that this anti-Americanism is connected with the fact that the south Korean people suffer from the presence of the Americans in their area. We have the Vietnam for example.

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Mr. Luis Solana, Member of Defence Committee in Parliament of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

Q: What do you think of a series of moves conducted by socialist or labour parties in the Asian region to build a non-nuclear peaceful Asia?

A: Today, during the conference I was very impressed by the decision made by a lot of countries in the Asian and Pacific regions including small countries like Belau and big countries like Australia to turn their regions into nuclear-free peace zones. If Japan joins this movement, I am sure north and south Korea will be involved in this peace movement although some of leaders in Seoul could not accept that line I think the rest of other Asian and Pacific countries must join in the movement for nuclear-free peaceful Asia and the Pacific region to avoid any kind of nuclear holocaust there.

Q: How do you evaluate the present south Korean democratic struggle as illustrated by growing anti-American sentiments?

A: We are against any kind of dictatorship of any style or any origin. Especially, we are against dictatorship supported by the countries like the U.S So we are opposing dictatorship in south Korea. I can say that the presence of foreign troops, their military bases and the infiltration of the society by foreigners are causes which give the local people the reasons to struggle against them. This is the main reason why the south Korean people are now demanding their withdrawal and expressing their demand with anti-American feelings. If we have the solution of the Korean problem, I can say this anti-Americanism helps that.

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Mrs. Bernie Tostwe Keldermans, a teacher of Belau

Q: What is your observation about the agreement to build a Northeast nuclear free peace zone?

A: I don't really know correctly about.

But it is a good thing, I think.

Because we, Belau and Korean peoples have the same problem, we should unite closely ex changing information.

Q: In south Korea there are 1,000 nuclear weapons. And as you know in south Korea there are so many American bases and south Korean "regime" and Reagan Administration allege the possible "invasion from the north". But there is no nuclear weapon in the DPRK.

Please give me your observation.

A: I think they should get rid of them.

If the US would like to own the nuclear weapons, take them home, to their country.

If it's so good, they shouldn't put it in somebody else's house, especially in a small nation.

The United States is a big country and there are many places to put the nuclear weapons.

Q: Please give me your comment on the reunification of Korea.

A: I feel sorry that Korea is divided and I hope some day it'll become united Korea.

It's a very similar situation as Micronesia. Micronesia had been one country during Japanese time, from WWI until 1978 and then US divided it into four. Now we have 4 governments. And the US would like to hold each area for ever. But unlike Korea, we don't fight among Micronesians.

Korea is the victim of the US and Japanese economy like us.

I hope you get what you want.

I hope for a united Korea.

S. Korean Monthly "Sin Tong-A"

Arirang Life at Colliery (8)

(Continued from the previous issue)

Life Side by Side with Death

Chol Su had breathed out his last and was lying there. Just a few hours before, Chol Su kissed Song In, who had awakened from sleep and followed Chol Su with a charming smile, when Chol Su was going to work. How near us death was!

I buried my head in my painful knees. Kim laid his head on the lower part of the coolie sack, trembling and crying strangely.

I looked at my watch. It was 8:00 in the morning. A deadly storm had attacked us for more than four hours.

I put off the safety lamp. I had to save the battery. We were completely cut off from the outer world. If I had had no light, facing death, how hopeless and sorrowful I had felt.

We heard someone striking the pipe. Kim quickly caught the sound and stood up.

"I, I heard something. A rescue party has come."

Kim caught a stone and struck the pipe with all his strength. There was an immediate response.

"I am sure a rescue party has come."

Kim laughed wryly, his mouth opened big and drooling. Perhaps, he was crying, not laughing.

"First, we have to endure hunger. We can appease our hunger by biting bark. I once heard if we are confined in a pit, we should strip a tree of its bark and eat it."

Kim stripped a decayed black and musty mine pillar of its bark and began to bite it. Black water dripped from his mouth.

Kim was a big eater, who would bring lunch for two persons, as lunch for one was not enough for him.

The blue hands of my glow watch showed that it was 9:00.

At times I had a hallucination, seeing Chol Su spring to his feet. He looked as if he were sleeping. I grasped Chol Su's black hands, which were cold, the same hands that had clasped my hands in joy, when I had arrived at S station.

I remembered the five fellow workers of mine who worked at the face. But I shook my head to shake off the thought. I thought none of them would be alive. Suddenly, I felt a chill.

I heard a signal again. Kim struck the pipe frantically.

"We will be saved . . . . Saved! "

He had been shouting in a strange voice, and crawling here and there. But he was completely changed now.

Un Gyong's face rose in my mind, overlapping her father's and her younger brother's. The sound of picks and shovels was heard near us.

Looking Up at the Sky, Looking Down at the Ground

A day passed. Twenty seven hours had passed since we were confined in the pit. Kim who thought that he had been saved, was as limp as a rag.

"Kim, brace yourself up! Don't you hear that sound? That sound! "

Though we could hear the sound of hope approaching us, Kim was lying there flat.

Together with the collapse of coal lumps, a flood of light shot into the place where we were. I saw the light vacantly.

"Wow! We were saved! "
"Are you all right? "
Someone shouted
"We are . . . . here "

Someone crawled up from a hole only a man could pass through.

"Let's get out of here quickly! How many persons are there? "

"Three . . . . "

I answered looking at Chol Su. Kim had already passed through the hole.

"This man . . . . Ah! . . . . "

A member of the rescue party turned over the towel that covered Chol Su's face, and groaned

"Let's go down! "

I wiped off my tears with a coal-dust stained sleeve and got out of the hole. Outside the pit I saw the chief of the coal mining office and others standing with black, haggard faces.

"Su Mun, You are alive! "

Pak, an overseer, said in a tearful voice and hugged me.

"Where is Chol Su? "

"Later . . . . he will come."

I got on an open mining car. I felt a bad pain in my knees as I was relaxed.

"Is Chol Su all right? "

"Yes . . . . He must be all right . . . . U,u,u, ... "

I burst into tears. Sorrows clouded Pak's face.

Chol Su came down. Members of the rescue party carried Chol Su's body and laid him on the mine car. I hugged Chol Su tight. The mine car was pushed to a double track. Chol Su was left there, in order not to show his corps to his family waiting for him impatiently.

One of my fellow workers tried to cover my face with black rag, afraid that I might lose my eyesight if I saw the sun suddenly. I turned down the offer. I was ashamed of myself, leaving Chol Su there alone . . . .

The mine car went out of the pit. The sun was blinding. People gathered around us.

"Su Mun! " Un Gyong held on me.

"Where is Chol Su? Where . . . . "

Chol Su's father asked me breathlessly.

"He must be all right. No, he is all right . . . . He will come soon."

I stammered out and got on an ambulance, hiding my face. The ambulance started, leaving Chol Su's father's wailing behind. Large snowflakes covered a newly-constructed black road.

Black Migratory Birds

One day in February, black migratory birds rushed to my sick-room and sobbed—miners with whom I drank *makkolri* (unrefined wine) in a bow. They who came from the north and south, had been comforting each other. They came to my sickroom that day after burying on a mountain one of their co-workers who died suddenly.

The injury in my knees was unexpectedly bad so that I was unable to attend the funeral service for Chol Su and I was just weeping in the sickroom. I had to say something to them.

"Don't cry! . . . However much we may cry, he will never rise from the dead."

"Yah, we don't cry. Chol Su died but he lives in our memory."

Sang Gi said wiping off the tears with his fist.

Chol Su's father was not well and was ill in bed. Chol Su's mother didn't take a meal for several days and continued to weep. She fell down several times during the funeral service on the mountain.

I quaffed off unrefined wine which my fellow workers had brought in their pockets, prepared to be scolded by my doctor. The wine caused strange movements in my stomach, as it was soaked in my body.

Snow was falling thick outside the window. The sky was leaden. Chol Su's face rose on the white walls of the sickroom and disappeared.

The next day, the door of the sickroom was knocked softly and a woman with a pale and care-worn face came. Her eyes were swollen.

"Su Mun! "
"Un Gyong! "

Silence fell between us. After a while Un Gyong broke the silence.

"How are you? "
"No change . . . . "

Un Gyong was looking at the lights of outdoor lamps through the window. Then, turning about, she said without looking straight at me, "My father . . . . said that he would return to our hometown . . . . We can't stay here any longer . . . . "

Un Gyong, kneeling down beside the bed, pressed her lips on my hands.

Un Gyong's tears dampened my hands.

"Su Mun, please forgive me . . . . Please let me go. I can't do anything. My father lost his only son, he may die at any time. Don't you think that I should be with him. Su Mun, please quit your job at the coal mine. Why don't you say anything? If you don't quit the work here and are so obstinate, I have to part with you."

Un Gyong said the same thing a few days ago. At that time I thought I had to say something, but I was unable to say anything. I was unable to tell that I would remain here and live together with her or to return to the hometown.

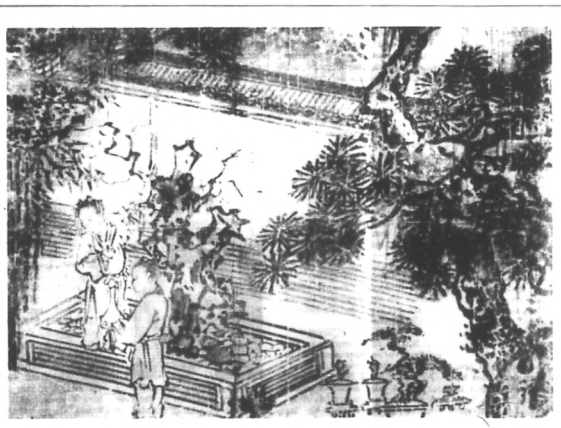
To leave the mine meant for me something done halfway. That meant my abandoning of my life.

After that I thought of the fate of black migratory birds for several days. How to solve the matter with Un Gyong? I remembered many times Chol Su telling me just before his death, "Please, mine coal for me."

I was unable to leave the coal mine. At least I couldn't leave the mine in such a way. This might be my obstinacy. My pride didn't allow me to do so. Someday I would able to meet Un Gyong again. I decided to remain at the coal mine and was waiting for Un Gyong's coming.

However, I could say nothing and buried my face in my bed.

(To be continued)



Korean Paintings "Putting a Plum Branch into a Vase" Attributed to Kang Hui Won

Pyongyang Castle

The first medieval city in Korea was Pyongyang Castle, which is now the old section of the city.

Koguryo transferred its capital from Chian to Pyongyang, in 427. At first, Koguryo built a castle town at the foot of Mt. Taesong, and constructed a bigger castle town where the residents of the neighboring districts were allowed to reside.

By transferring its capital from Chian to Pyongyang, Koguryo intended to terminate the triangular conflicts among the three kingdoms, unify the territory and ward off the foreign tribes in the northeast area. Pyongyang Castle defended the dwellers from invaders.

According to *Samguk-sagi* (History of Three Kingdoms), Pyongyang Castle began to be constructed in 552 and was completed in 586. It was named "Changan Castle." The construction took 42 years, including appurtenant work.

Pyongyang Castle was a mammoth circumvallated city which was defended on the northern side by steep Moranbong Hill and a bluff of Chongryubyok and on the eastern, western and southern sides protected by the Taedong and the Potong rivers.

The total length of the castle wall reached 23 km and inside, it was divided into the inner castle, north castle, central castle and the outer castle. This is substantiated by stone walls on which letters were found engraved, reading south, the center and north.

The scale of the stronghold was confirmed on the basis of the places where stone walls were found. The date and the method of construction of the castle were made known through letters engraved on the stones. The construction of the castle walls was made clear by the size of stones used and the degree of work on them.

Many stones measuring 30 x 20 were found and stones were used for the foundations. The shape was the same as that of concrete blocks presently used as sand guards on housing sites.

The height of the castle walls was 4–5 meters in mountainous areas and 7–9 on flatland. Their thickness varies from 2–5 meters to 4–8 meters.

Inside, the castle was divided into four points. In the inner castle there were a royal palace and government offices; inside the center castle were dwelling houses for high-ranking officials, and the northern castle was a fortified zone.

The outer castle was located in the south, where were dwelling houses for the common people, and orderly urban districts arranged by city planners.

Residence quarters were formed into square blocks by principal rods running from the east to the west gate, from the south to the north castle gate and by 4–3 meter wide streets. They were also subdivided by 1.4 meter wide alleys.

Pyongyang Castle was similar to medieval cities in Europe except for its buildings.

The castle gates were defended by fortifications and observation towers were found in recesses, unlike those of Japanese castles.

At present these castle gates are used as direction marks.

Pyongyang Castle was a typical medieval city built by a concept of city planning and highly developed technique in those days. Later, Kaesong was built in the Koryo period and Hanyangsong (Seoul) in the Li dynasty period, after the pattern of Pyongyang Castle.

After towns and villages were moved to other areas, Pyongyang Castle was regarded as militarily important. Pyongyang Castle defended the country against invaders on many occasions and came to called the heroic city.

In comparison with Kyongju in the east, Pyongyang was called Sogyong (the west castle) and also called the castle of willow trees as there were many willow trees in Pyongyang.

The medieval Pyongyang was magnificent and beautiful. Today it is tens of times larger and is admired as one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

Memorial Hall Built in Choson Univ.

The ¥500 million Memorial Hall was completed on May 29 at Tokyo's Choson University.

The money was raised by 7,000 graduates of Choson University on the occasion of the 70th birthday of President Kim Il Sung and 25th birthday of Choson University.

The four-storyed building has a floor space of 2,574 square metres.

This brings to 27,907 square metres of the total floor space of Choson University buildings located on a total of 66,000 square metres of land in Kodaira City.

The first floor of the new building is designed as a mini-Korean natural museum. The second floor is for a survey of 5,000-year Korean history. On display on the third are works of President Kim Il Sung and documents on his revolutionary activities. The fourth is highlighted by a 400-seat lecture room.

The second floor is devoted to 520 important relics of historical interest.

These items on display were presented by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, though the funds for the construction of the building were donations from graduates.

Among the 7,000 graduates produced over 24 years are now professors, teachers, engineers, newspapermen, poets, writers, full-time workers and successful businessmen.

Many were repatriated to the DPRK.

Some are engaged in advance studies abroad.

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

THE DPRK DELS. TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

(March)

* The DPRK government delegation headed by Chairman of the Education Commission Choe Tae Bok to Malta to attend celebration of the National Day of the Republic of Malta

* The DPRK scientific and technological information delegation headed by Director of the Central Scientific and Technological Information Agency Li Yong Rip to Czechoslovakia

(April)

* A delegation of the DPRK headed by Ho Dam, vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, to attend the Extraordinary Ministerial Conference of the Coordinating Committee of Non-Aligned Countries on the Palestinian Question

* A government trade delegation of the DPRK headed by Pang Tae Ryul, vice-Minister of Foreign Trade, to the Soviet Union

* A trade union delegation of the DPRK headed by Kim Guk Sam, vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, to Bulgaria to attend the 9th Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the 10th Congress of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions and the 10th Congress of Confederation of Free German Trade Unions

* Kim Man Gum, Chairman of the Pyongyang Municipal People's Committee, to Tanzania as a special envoy of President Kim Il Sung

* A delegation of the Architects' Union of the DPRK headed by Li Yun Il, vice-Chairman of the State Construction Commission, to the Soviet Union to attend a Meeting of Chairmen of Architects' Unions of Socialist Countries

* A delegation of the DPRK to Cuba to attend a Conference of the Educational and Cultural Specialists of the Non-Aligned Countries held in Cuba.

* A delegation of the WPK headed by Kim Guk Hun, Member of the CC of the WPK, to Laos to attend the Third Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party

* Premier of the Administration Council of the DPRK Li Jong Ok, to Islamic Republic of Iran for an official goodwill visit at the invitation of the Iranian Prime Minister

* A trade union delegation of the DPRK headed by U Jong Hak, vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea to China

* A delegation of the DPRK headed by Kim Yong Ik, vice-Minister of Public Health, to attend the 35th General Meeting of the World Health Organization

FOREIGN DELS. TO THE DPRK

(March)

* A delegation of the Japan Committee for Supporting the Independent Peaceful Reunification of Korea headed by Iwai Akira, Advisor to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and General Secretary of the Committee

(April)

* Chantal Cousin, Chairman of the Democratic People's Union of France and Chairman of the French Committee to Support the Founding of the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo (DCRK)

(Delegations and delegates who visited the DPRK to participate in the celemonies on President Kim Il Sung's 70th birthday were excluded)

PLANS SIGNED BY GOVERNMENTS BETWEEN DPRK AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES

(March)

* A 1982–1983 plan for cultural exchange between the governments of the DPRK and the Soviet Union was signed in Moscow.

* A plan of cooperation between the Korea-Romania Friendship Association and the Romania-Korea Friendship Association for 1982–1983 was signed in Bucharest.

* A 1982–1983 plan for cultural interchange between the governments of the DPRK and the Polish People's Republic was signed in Warsaw.

(April)

* A 1982–1983 plan for cultural cooperation between the governments of the DPRK and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was signed in Prague. **(KCNA)**

▲ The exterior of the four-story Memorial Hall completed on May 29.

◀ On display are historical relics of Korea which were sent from the DPRK and some of them are imitations.

Note by Mrs. Kim Midae Ja

My Experience with "Alien Registration Law"

Mrs. Kim Midae Ja, 40 years, a housewife, resident of Koofu City, Yamanashi Prefecture in Japan, was outrageously maltreated by Japanese police officers, on charges of failure to carry her alien registration card with herself.

Follows a note written by Mrs. Kim Midae Ja giving her experience at the hands of police:

Because of my failure to carry my alien registration card, I was questioned by the police, even about what had nothing to do with the registration card. In addition, I had my fingerprints and palm prints taken, had my height, and weight measured and even had my feet examined. I can't forgive the Japanese police for these acts. On account of this, I made up my mind to accuse three policemen of these acts and appeal to the Civil Rights Commission for redress. The following fact made me take a decision. A partial amendment to the alien registration law was presented to the current Japanese Diet session for approval. The proposed amendment shows no concern with protecting and expanding civil rights of Koreans in Japan. Its suppressive character as a public peace law is more conspicuous. This makes me angry.

I think that the humiliation I suffered must not be repeated. I wrote this note, detailing an outrage committed against me by police officers. I believe this note will may contribute to the protection of rights of Koreans.

Knowing I Am Korean

The incident occurred on May 14, 1981. That day, I, together with my mother, rode a car my acquaintance drove and went to a Buddhist service. We were on our way home. However, near Katsunuma on the Chuo Expressway we were stopped by police. Police questioned us on charges of speeding.

The policemen told my acquaintance to show a driving license. But he was unlicensed. Worried about the investigation, my mother got out from the back seat and implored, "Please pardon us."

My mother is seventy years old. It is natural for her to speak with Korean accent. She proved to be not Japanese from her language. Knowing that we are Korean, he told us to produce our alien registration certificates. Unfortunately, all of us happened not to be carrying it with ourselves.

I remembered that I left it on the icebox at home.

Immediately I told the policemen so. But he ignored our plea and took us to the Katsunuma police substation of the Yamanashi prefectural police on charges of not carrying with ourselves alien registration certificates. After many hours of interrogation we were allowed to return home on the plea of that we were on our way back from the Buddhist service. But our release was on condition that we should later report to police whenever so requested.

On July 20 of the same year, two months after the incident, we three were summoned to the Enzan Police Department. I was escorted by my elder sister. It was about ten in the morning.

We were examined separately by policemen of the guard section.

The investigaters asked us about other things which had no connection with not carrying the alien registration certificate: For example, our domestic conditions, bank deposits, assets and marriage.

By mistake I only forgot to carry with me the alien registration certificate. I wondered why this warranted a thorough police questioning of my domestic life.

Willy-Nilly

The plice interrogation continued into afternoon hours. When I got out of the interrogation room, I looked for my mother. Then, other policeman called me, "Hey, wait a minute." I said in a reproachful tone, "What? Have you something more to ask me?" Then, he said "Just a second!" and brought willy-nilly me upstairs.

Three policemen were in the room I entered. I felt awe and became fearful.

I was told that he must take my fingerprints. Just then, I repressed the surging rage. I trembled with chagrin and tears rolled fast down my cheeks.

"Why is it necessary?" I asked, but the policemen did not explain. It was so uncanny.

I unwillingly put my fingers on a plate glass on which black ink was coated. Then, a stout spectacled policeman, saying "Do like this," took my fingers and forced them to roll on the plate glass. Thus, all my ten fingers were printed.

"Sit down quickly for a photograph," the policeman roared.

"Next, stand up," "Turn your face sideways," he took photos.

"Why do you do such a thing? Did I commit murder?" I protested in tears. But he didn't try to listen.

Then, he measured my height, weight and took my footprints. Each time, I protested "Am I a felon?" but he did not answered, either.

Further, he took my palmprint by holding me by the wrist.

"He treats you like a felon, does not he?" my elder sister got angry.

"Do you say what I have done something wrong? Did I commit murder?" I demanded an explanation. Then he spitted out, "It can not be helped because of the rule." Only it meant the conclusion of taking my fingerprints and so on. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon.

I had to make a particular effort in order to return to normal, because I was so distressed mentally and physically at being outrageously treated like a criminal by police. But I tried to forget the outrage as merely our personal case.

Corrects Characteristic Feature Only for Public Peace

I came to know that the Japanese authorities are planning an amendment to the alien registration law and carefully looked over its draft amendment. It was found different from the present law, in regarding our Korean compatriots in Japan as criminals. It obliges the Koreans to carry alien registration certificates with themselves all the time, to present it to the competent authorities when so requested and to take one's fingerprints. I resolved that there should be no repetition of my case, the case of being treated like a felon. Therefore, I decided to write about my experience.

The Japanese police alleged at the Diet that they had done so with my consent. Until now, I thought that the police side always with good citizens and are an agency to defend their rights, though there are some excesses. But I clearly realized how wishful my thought was.

I hold that the present law must be amended in a positive manner ending the above-said provisions. (Kim Midae Ja, a housewife)

A meeting was held on Apr. 28, at the Workers-Farmers Welfare Center to inquire into "the incident of failure to carry the alien registration card."

Illegal Intrusion of Japanese Fishing Boats

The spokesman of the Central News Agency of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea issued the following statement on June 3:

The fishing boat "Hiro-maru No. 81" belonging to the Murayama Fishery Stock Company, Japan, which was captured by a naval patrol boat of the Korean People's Army while illegally intruding up to a point 38 degrees and 8 minutes north latitude, 124 degrees and 20 minutes east longitude, within the military boundary of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at around 17 hours 30 minutes on May 18, returned on June 3 thanks to the lenient step of our side.

Lately Japanese fishing boats are more frequently poaching within the military boundary of our country and violating the tentative fishery agreement (See Note) concluded by the civilian organisation of the two countries.

In the period from January to March this year alone, Japanese fishing boats which committed such acts of violation numbered more than 100.

Each time the relevant organ of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea took a generous step, taking into consideration good neighbour relations with the Japanese people.

In early April, when scores of Japanese fishing boats were catching fish within the military boundary, our side took the generous step of persuading them to go out of the boundary, without capturing them.

But the relevant organ of Japan, far from being grateful for such friendly step of our side, continuously sent Japanese fishing boats into the military boundary of our country.

In April the number of such fishing boats increased to several hundreds and in one day of May 11 the number reached scores.

As for the "Kyofuku-maru No. 83" and "Kyofuku-maru No. 85" which were seized by our side, they, like the "Kyofuku-maru Nos. 33 and 35" which were sent back on the promise that they would not catch fish again, intruding into the military boundary of our country after being detained by the relevant organ of our country on May 5 last year, belong to the Daiju Fishery Stock Company of Japan.

The fishing boat "Hiro-maru No. 81" which returned this time intruded into the military boundary though it knew that the "Kyofuku-maru Nos. 83 and 85" were captured and being interrogated by the organ concerned of our country.

The Japanese fishing boats which intruded into the military boundary of our country used prohibited fishing implements and caught 10-odd kinds of fish whose catch is banned and even small fries, crudely violating many provisions of the tentative fishery agreement signed by civilian organizations of Korea and Japan. This caused a loss to the aquatic resources of our country.

The Central News Agency of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, upon authorization, warns once again to the relevant bodies and organizations of Japan, considering that all these acts of the Japanese fishing boats are an outrageous infringement upon the sovereignty and law and order of our country.

The Japanese side must not misuse the friendly step taken by the Government of the DPRK to allow the small fishermen of Japan to catch fish in the economic sea zone outside the military boundary of our country and not intrude into our military boundary any longer, but take appropriate steps so that they may discharge with sincerity their obligations as laid down in the tentative fishery agreement.

The organ concerned of our country should have punished the boat and her crewmen captured this time in accordance with the law of the DPRK, but it forgave the crewmen once again with leniency and sent them back together with the boat as they frankly admitted their criminal act and gave assurances that they would not intrude again into the military boundary, but abide by the provisions of the tentative fishery agreement.

In case such illegal acts are repeated in the future despite our repeated warnings, the Japanese side would be held wholly responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

Note:

The tentative fishery agreement means a tentative step taken to enable Japanese fishing boats to operate within the economic water zone of the DPRK outside the militarily-demarcated area of the East Sea without fishing fees or fishing license.

This accord was signed in September 1977, by the delegation of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the delegation of the Japanese Dietmen's Federation to Promote Japan-Korea Friendship. This agreement represents a magnanimous liberal humanitarian step taken by the DPRK Government in the hope of developing cooperative relations between the two countries, though it had no endorsement of the Japanese Government.

The agreement expires by the end of June, 1982, since it has been renewed every two years.

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